

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, May 7,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

PURSUING my object of contending for the superiority of a complete Representative System of Government, over which no checks of any kind shall exist, I shall enquire in the present article, what period of the British History is worthy of our imitation, or whether there ever has been a Government in this Island deserving to be called free, upon our present views of what constitutes freedom, or such as is exhibited to us by the Constitutions of the Republics of America, or even by the Monarchical Constitution of Spain?

It is not necessary for me to go back to the period when civil war raged for centuries between what were called the Houses of York and Lancaster; and it is now equally a folly to talk about our British or our Saxon ancestors, our Edwards or our Henries; let us take in the two last Henries as a beginning, because, during their reigns the rage of civil war ceased: and no sooner had it ceased than an era of religious persecution and judicial robbery commenced. This will be going back full three centuries, quite far enough for one who has no conceit to be deemed an antiquarian.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh there was great discontent, and frequent insurrections, arising out of the avarice of the Monarch, who fleeced his subjects at pleasure, for no other purpose than to fill a number of coffers with gold. There was nothing worthy of being called a Parliament in that reign, or the voice of the People in that Parliament, had no more effect than the bleating of their sheep; both were sheared alike. It was this fellow, who was so conscious of his tyranny as to be in constant fear of an attack upon his life, that first originated a standing army in time

of peace in England. It was he who established what is called the Yeomen or Body Guard of the King. In his time monopolies for securing to individuals, by what were called patents, the right to furnish the whole of certain articles that were consumed, were carried to a most atrocious length. A set of vile courtiers, either by dint of favour or money, would obtain these patents from the King, and then charge whatever they liked for the article; and cause fines and imprisonments to be inflicted in the most summary manner on those who should be found infringing what was called their right and patent! In this reign lived two wretches of Judges, who were hung in the next, called Empson and Dudley. These fellows held peculiar commissions from the King, both to extend patents and to punish what they would consider infringements on those patents. In fact, there was scarce a man of property in the country but these fellows would get into their meshes and fleece at pleasure, and all upon the strength of what they called the law of the land. They talked of the law of the land in exactly the same strain as Abbott, Best, Bailey, and little Jeff do now, and felt the same authority, and displayed the same tyranny. But they were hanged at last. Mark that! This was a most odious and oppressive reign for the people. Henry the Seventh was a sullen miser-like tyrant, and these are the worst of all tyrants, for scarce any one can thrive or be happy under such a wretch.

Next came his son, Harry the Eighth, the exact prototype of our present King. He squandered all his father had accumulated, made whatsoever women he wished the subject of his lust, and thought nothing more of taking off the head of one wife, than of going to bed to a new one. His father had robbed the people of all they had to spare, and this fellow laid his hands on the churches, abbies, and monasteries, and stripped them of almost every thing that was convertible into money. He made very great pretensions about religion, and although he was really ignorant, and a mere brute, yet to differ in opinion with him upon the definition of a word was a sure prelude to the scaffold or the stake. A brute himself, he openly told the people of England that they were brutes, and expressed a wonder how they should dare to murmur to him, or to judge whether his conduct towards them was right or wrong. Parliaments, he declared, had no authority but to supply his wants and to vote him supplies. Yet this fellow was the first English King who was called *Sacred Majesty* and

Defender of the Faith! It was high treason to imagine his death, or to say that he would even die a natural death! There was nothing in this reign, I presume, worthy the notice of those who call themselves Radical Reformers, and talk about restoring the British Constitution to its original purity! Wonderful purity! where shall we find it?

Next comes Edward the Sixth, who dying a minor, of course could scarcely be said to reign. His Protectors and Ministers made pretty work in his time, and it is generally supposed that he fell a victim to poisonous drugs through their intrigues, and a hope that some branch of one of their families would succeed him to the throne.

Edward being dead, there was an actual vacancy on the throne, for the two surviving daughters of Old Harry had both been illegitimatised by Act of Parliament; but as the people of England in those days were mere savages in manners and in knowledge, they would have thought the world would end if they had no King or Queen, and for almost the first time, they hoisted a woman to the throne, as the Empress Maud could scarcely be said to have reigned. This woman was she whom we call the Bloody Queen Mary. Being a bigot of a worst species than her father; and Luther, Calvin, and others having raised the cry of Reformation, she burnt by wholesale all the heretics and blasphemers who read the Bible, or any part of it, or who could not answer all the questions of her Bishops, (Bonner, and others,) upon subjects whereon they could derive no information but from the contradictory babbling of the Priests. There was nothing, I presume, very pure or enviable in this part of the British Constitution.

Next came Elizabeth, who, as a whore, a tyrant, and a deceitful woman, forms a complete prototype for the late Catherine of Russia. Elizabeth was lewd, vindictive, and cruel; lavish in her favours to favourites, who were frequently changed, she never failed to seek the life of those who offended her. She was not exactly a bigot in religion, considering the times in which she lived, although many were destroyed for their opinions in her reign. She had the knack of getting popularity in consequence of not treating the people with so much harshness and contempt as her sister and father had done, and for this forbearance alone has she obtained all the undeserved eulogiums that have been passed upon her! She forbid every thing like a display of power on the part of the Parliament and would threaten the Speaker and Members with pains and penalties if any sub-

ject was discussed that did not meet her approbation! Oh! the glorious days of good Queen Bess! Her Parliaments were as succumbing as she was despotic, and this I presume would not suit as a model for our antiquarian constitutional puritans. She died at last on the floor, refusing for many days to be undressed, or covered, or fed, from a sullen fit occasioned by one of the ladies of her court who had interfered and defeated one of her intrigues with the Earl of Essex, so as to bring him to the block. A sort of intrigue, jealousy and treachery that is continually in practice where there are Kings, Queens and Courtiers, although popular contempt for the whole has reduced the power of taking away lives upon this head, and exclusion from the Royal Presence is now the only punishment in vogue!

Another actual vacancy occurred on the throne but in obedience to the will of the Queen, verbally expressed, a Jamie Stuart was fetched from Scotland with a train of needy followers to riot on the industry of the English People. However, as I before observed, there was yet no notion of a Representative System of Government, and a King was considered as necessary as a Priest to the well-being of society; the one to take care of the bodies, the other of the souls of the dupes. We are beginning to know better, at last, and another vacancy on the throne would require something more than a Scotchman or a German to fill it.

This subject will be too extensive for me to complete this week. I have neither time nor space to do it justice, therefore I shall finish it in my next address.

I feel assured that there is nothing pure in the heads of those who talk about restoring the purity of the British Constitution. There never was a good government in this country that lasted a second reign, which assertion I challenge any man to contradict, and I will engage to meet him fairly by a display of historical facts and statements, and I think I may venture to affirm that there cannot be a good government unless it be where an intelligent people can govern themselves by their representatives, annually or biennially chosen or changed.

R. CARLILE.

CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT OF THREE PUBLIC MEETINGS HELD AT LEEDS.

THE following is the connecting comment that should have accompanied the imperfect reports of the proceedings at Leeds, on the subject of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley. The whole matter was sent to the Press with an intention of having it printed as a pamphlet, but the pressure of other matter delayed it so as to urge its appearance in "The Republican;" and the report of each day's proceedings being sealed up in different packets, and the following connection in another by itself, in setting up the matter for "The Republican," the Compositor took the proceedings in their apparent order without examining the fourth packet, which should have embraced the whole, and thus led to the mistake that has occurred. The documents were not received from Leeds until the middle of March, and all that now appears was then written to accompany them. Every apology is offered to our readers for this error and confused statement, but on the appearance of the whole, though irregular, they will not fail to see through the whole affair, and receive the same impression as if the thing had been printed in a proper manner.

EDITOR.

The Triumph of Honest Principle over Faction; being a Report of the Proceedings of Three Public Meetings held in the Town of Leeds, respecting an Address voted to Sir Charles Wolseley on his Liberation from Abingdon Gaol, with Strictures on the Conduct of the Leaders of the Faction calling themselves Radicals at Leeds.

On Monday, the 10th of December, 1821, a Public Meeting was held in the town of Leeds, pursuant to public advertisement, for the purpose of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley on his liberation from confinement. Mr. Joseph Wasse was called to the Chair, and the business of the Meeting was opened by Mr. Mason in the following speech.

[This speech is to be found at page 501.]

At the close of this speech, Mr. Mason proposed that the following Address should be adopted as the Address of the Meeting.

[Printed at page 503.]

Mr. James Mann then came forward to second the motion for adopting the foregoing Address, and addressed the assembly as follows.

[Speech to be found at 502.]

Mr. Brayshaw then stepped forward and spoke to the following effect.

[Speeches in moving and seconding amended Address at 504, and following pages.]

Mr. Mason then stepped forward in support of his Address, and argued, that although he would not condemn the principle of a pure Representative System of Government, or a Republic, as visionary, still he would condemn the pursuit of it in this country as visionary at this moment.

Mr. Brayshaw replied to him in one of his sound and convincing speeches, and argued, that of all the schemes for Reform, now the general topics of conversation, the least visionary was the pure Representative System, or what, in other words, is denominated Republicanism; and if

any were more easily attainable than the other, it was the one for which he now contended.

[Here should have followed the observations of Messrs. Braithwaite, Ward, Whincup, and Hurtle, as at page 508.]

The Chairman then put the two Addresses to a shew of hands, when the amended Address was carried by a large majority; but such was the mortification of those who called the Meeting, and brought forward the first Address, that, doubting their own eyes, they called for a division, which was instantly acceded to amidst the cheers of the triumphing party, and the abashed looks of the minority. So confident were the persons calling themselves Radical Reformers, without defining their principles, or what they mean by the appellation they assume, that their Address would not be amended, or an opposition effectually offered, that they exhibited it for months before the time of meeting, and before Sir Charles was liberated. The first Address was the composition of Mr. Mason, and accords with all his frothy effusions, his words without meaning, and figures without application, calculated to enchant and delude the ignorant and unwary, but which a man with a very small portion of common sense can disperse with a breath as he would an air-borne bubble. His Address was exhibited as a master-piece of composition, and a sort of compromise on the part of the Radical Reformers with the Aristocracy, on the subject of rank, rights, titles, and privileges; a falling back which more than one of the persons who call themselves Leaders of the Radical Reformers begin to exhibit.

But these recreant and compromising Radicals of Leeds were not content with defeat and a flagrant exposure of a lack of all sound and useful principle, but they added dishonesty to it; and as the Chairman of the Meeting was one of the defeated party, he neglected to forward the amended Address to its destination. The Republicans had not expected such unfair play, even from men whose sincerity they doubted, and it was not known for some weeks after, until a wonder was raised why Sir Charles did not answer the Address, that it was never officially sent, although it was printed in "The Manchester Observer," in Mr. Hunt's "Memoirs," and in "The Black Dwarf," with a garbled report of the proceedings, or with two speeches only which accompanied the rejected Address, that is, the first speech of Mr. Mason and Mr. Mann, as here copied. This is a specimen of Radical impartiality when beset by honest men. This is what is to be expected from those "great and exclusive channels of Radical intelligence." The rejected Address was not given, nor one word of the argument which caused the Meeting to reject the one and support the other. Call you this free and fair discussion? Radicals, you must reform yourselves, as the first and most important step towards a Radical Reform.

After a great deal of surmise and wonder on the part of the majority who had carried the amended Address why it was not answered, it began to be whispered about that it had not been forwarded, and that the excuse of the Chairman for not forwarding it, was because they had no money subscribed that they could send to the Great Northern Union, but that the Address should go as soon as they could make a remittance. Now, the persons who voted the Address were not subscribers to this Union, therefore, the excuse was an infamy worse than the neglect. The Northern Union, as it regarded the Address, was a private affair of the Chairman's, and its failure was no ground of neglecting to forward the Address agreeable to his duty as Chairman of the Meeting that had voted it.

In consequence of this neglect, a few of those persons who had carried

the amended Address assembled privately and passed the following Resolution.

[Here should have followed the Resolution at page 539.]

This Resolution led to the drawing up an Address, which was presented to Mr. Wasse, who made the excuse before-mentioned, and which led to the calling of another Public Meeting, for the purpose of re-voting the Address and sending it by another Chairman. The proceedings of which Meeting were as follows.

[Reported at page 540.]

Mr. Braithwaite, the Chairman, having forwarded the Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, immediately received the following answer:—

“ SIR,

“ I RECEIVED the Address from the Reformers of Leeds, which is flattering in the extreme; and I cannot help expressing how pleased I am to think so many of my brother Reformers are so well satisfied with my political conduct. What I have been, I flatter myself I shall continue to be. I must, however, acknowledge, that you have placed me in a dilemma by the sort of schism that, I am sorry to find, exists amongst you; my knowledge of this disagreement comes from my having received *the same Address* from Mr. Joseph Wasse, who has given his account of this disagreeable business. It is not for me to judge, at this distance, which party is right, my part is only to lament there should be any disunion among the Radical Reformers. He informs me, that it is occasioned by many of them wishing that the funds of the Northern Union should be appropriated to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family. This, I must say, I have a difficulty in giving entire credit to, for if a Union of Reformers is established for one specific purpose, surely, no Member of that Union would wish to pervert it. If there are any who wish to advocate the cause of Mr. Carlile, let them do it by all means: but, for God's sake, let them leave the Great Northern Union to effect that for which it was solely and only established.

“ I shall write to Mr. Wasse by this post, and shall copy what I have written above; and shall be happy to hear on my return from Paris, where I am going in a day or two for a few weeks, on particular business, that all disagreements are made up.

“ And remain, Sir, your obliged and obedient Servant.

“ C. WOLSELEY.”

“ Wolseley, Jan. 30.”

The Addressers of Sir Charles Wolseley were astonished at the contents of this Letter, as far as it regarded the statement of Mr. Wasse, and were highly pleased with the candour of the Baronet in stating what he had heard. Mr. Wasse must have calculated on the Baronet being like himself, a mere man of intrigue among parties, to have put forth such a base and unfounded tale, as the cause of the delay of the Address, and the disputes between the Reformers of Leeds.

In consequence of this answer from Sir Charles Wolseley to the Address, a Public Meeting was immediately announced in the following manner:—

“ A Public Meeting will be held on the evening of Thursday next, the 7th of February, in a large Room opposite the Spread Eagle Inn, Meadow Lane, at Eight o'Clock, for the purpose of hearing the Answer of Sir C. Wolseley to the Address voted at two Public Meetings, held on Dec. 10th, 1821, and Jan. 25th, 1822; and for the further purpose of enquiring into the grounds on which the Chairman of the Meeting held on the 10th of December, has stated to Sir Charles that “ the disunion amongst the Reformers was occasioned by many of them wishing that the funds of the Northern Union should be appropriated to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family.—Leeds, Feb. 4th, 1822.”

At this Meeting the following Resolutions were unanimously passed :—

Resolved,

1. That no individual who took part in getting up the amended Address which was voted on the two former Meetings, or in sending the Address to Mr. Wasse, in consequence of his delay, had any controul over the funds of the Northern Union; and we challenge either Mr. Wasse or any other person to prove the contrary.
2. That the account of the Chairman of the 10th of December, in which he stated to Sir Charles, the cause of the disunion arose from many of the Reformers wishing to appropriate the funds of the Northern Union to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family, appears to be nothing but a base subterfuge in order to cover his own negligence, as those who got up the amended Address never had any connection with the Northern Union, either directly or indirectly.
3. That in consequence of the Chairman of the 10th of December not having attended this Meeting in order to explain the reasons of his late conduct, it is necessary, in order to place the matter fairly before the public, that the whole proceedings should be published.

Mr. Wasse had been invited to this Meeting, and after the Resolutions had been passed, and some other business taken up, about a quarter before ten o'clock Mr. Wasse entered with his friends, Mr. Mason and Mr. Mann. The Chairman enquired if Mr. Wasse was prepared to support the statement he had sent to Sir Charles Wolseley. Mr. Mason rose to defend the conduct of Mr. Wasse, but suffered the old embittered feeling about his rejected Address to supersede every other object. He complained that Mr. Wasse was too impartial as a Chairman in allowing such long speeches to be made against the first Address, and if he had been in the Chair he would have stopped them! forgetting, that instead of defending Mr. Wasse, he was, in reality, sinking him deeper in the mire and himself with him. He was replied to by Mr. Smithson, who observed, that the duty of a Chairman was to hear every man whilst he confined himself to the object of the Meeting, and that any man had an undoubted right to offer and support an amendment to any proceedings, and no man had a right to thrust his favourite dogmas down the throats of a company in spite of their reason. If the pretended friends of universal liberty could have the audacity to advocate such a doctrine, the despotism of Castlereagh was mildness to it.

Messrs. Wasse, Mason, and Mann, then left the room without having made a word of defence for the false statement made to Sir Charles Wolseley, evincing how much better it is to support principles than men, and what a never-ending dilemma those men fall into who look at men alone and think nothing of principles.

The Republicans of Leeds entertain a very high opinion of Sir Charles Wolseley, and were really anxious to pay him every possible respect. Judge, then, of their chagrin and disappointment on finding they had been so shamefully deceived by Mr. Wasse! In resolving to print these proceedings, they challenge contradiction to the reports and statements here made, and should they not meet contradiction or answer, the conduct of the party impeached must be viewed as sufficiently outrageous to shame them into obscurity and silence on all future public matters.

Respecting the Great Northern Radical Union, it was lately blazoned forth in the "the great channel for Radical intelligence," that at its commencement some obstacles were opposed to it in Leeds, but that now they were surmounted, and a support equal to the extent of the place would be found from it; when, in fact, up to this moment, an average of

half-a-crown a week has not been subscribed to it in that town. The case is, the Leeds people see through the thing, and they have once before been duped by the same men who manage the present subscription in regard to the application of the money of what was called the Leeds Union.

It is disgusting to hear the great Chroniclers of Radical Intelligence talking about the Boroughmongers beginning to tremble at the funds of the Great Northern Radical Union, when, in reality, scarce £200 have yet been paid to the Treasurer, or at the time of writing this, (the middle of March).

The only Political Union that is deserving the support of honest men, would be a Union for the propagation of sound, intelligible, and well-defined political principles among the mass of the people. Such a Union as this would lead on to that most important of all Unions, that is, it would prepare the great body of the people for a united resistance to all tyranny and oppression. There would be no need to wait for the raising of great sums of money for the purposes of this Union; there would be no need of confiding heavy sums or balances to any one individual, or to few individuals. The weekly collections would be weekly expended, and the propagation of sound principles incessantly carried on. The plan suggested resembles the Religious Tract Societies, and should be carried on upon the same principle with a few improvements.

In every town there should be a Union Library, consisting of the very best works for improving the mind, both in morals and in politics. Contiguous to this library should be a large room or hall for lectures and discussions, and for all Public Meetings, rendered sufficiently commodious and comfortable, so as to leave no excuse for resorting to an ale-house for any of those purposes.

After keeping this Library well stocked with the most important works, the surplus subscription-money may be consumed in gratuitous distribution of the most approved tracts on the most important subjects. Such a Union as this would be at once respectable and important. Something of the kind, on a small scale, exists in Edinburgh and in Stockport. Without an effectually enlightened people, we shall never have an enlightened, well-conducted, and humane Government. Many people calling themselves humane, now-a-day, are found to defend absolute power upon the pretence of popular ignorance, and the excuse, that the people would turn liberty into anarchy. Anarchy will only exist with ignorance. Remove ignorance, and you will remove all the danger that arises from anarchy.

It is the knowledge of and adherence to sound and well-defined principles that can alone produce a great National Union. Knowledge is power, an axiom not now denied. Extend popular knowledge, and you extend popular union and popular power. A subscription of money for the purpose of buying up or destroying corruption, is one of the greatest humbugs that ever was attempted upon a cheated and deluded people. Of all the methods for resisting corruption that ever have been broached, this is the most contemptible and the most outrageous to intelligent minds. Look at it, Reformers! Look at the principle, and not the men who support or originate it!

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

Manchester, April 29, 1822.

WE the members of the Miles Platting Reading Society, together with a few friends at Failsworth, do ourselves the honour of again subscribing our mites towards the payment of your fines. We have to congratulate you on the wide diffusion of your principles, in Manchester and its vicinity, and if the next year brings with it, an accession of numbers to the standard of reason equal to the last, we shall then have nothing to fear from the opposition of those plundering bandittis, nor of the vile insinuations of pretended friends. We know not what those men would have who preach about obtaining a Reform, yet disclaim the principles of Thomas Paine or a Representative System of Government. It is evident that a change is fast approaching in this country. Now Reform is a change, or a revolution from bad to good, and any Reform or revolution short of an elective or really Representative System can produce no lasting benefits to a nation, therefore we do not wish to possess such a Reform, and we believe that three-fourths of the reformers at this moment are with us on this point, and would have been long ago, had it not been for the wild denunciations that have at times issued from the press of those misleaders of Reform. However we have nothing to fear from them, their opposition to us will excite inquiry, and inquiry leads to correct opinions. We are rather inclined to smile at the childish petulance with which these men rave at the opposition that has been at last excited by their aspersion of the principles of one of the best and bravest of mankind. They have been unceasingly employed in heaping insult and contumely upon the advocates of a Representative System of Government, and now when the silent contempt, with which their mischievous practices have been too long observed, has, at length, been changed for the open reproof of virtuous indignation they writhe and lament over their falling fortunes, and make piteous outcries against the vexatious opposition of those who will not allow the principles of the immortal Paine to be stifled, in order to make room for the desperate ambition of one who cannot bear the thoughts of an equal in the political world. They may now perceive their whimpering and wailing, will be vain and futile. There is a spirit of inquiry pervading the whole people of Britain, and nothing can stay its progress. The spirit of the nation has awoken; and they may as well attempt to fetter the North wind with a cobweb as to imagine that Englishmen wishing to be free, and indignant at the chains they have too long borne, can be deterred from expressing their abhorrence of all Systems of Monarchy, and their open avowal of

and determination to support the principles of the philanthropic Paine.

Although we cannot repress our sympathy for your late shopmen, yet we are of opinion that the cruel and vindictive sentences passed upon them, will rather benefit than injure our cause. It is a proof our persecutors cannot stand the test of discussion when they have recourse to brutal force. Those unjust sentences are each a strong symptom of the dissolution of their power.

Persecution ever did and ever will make proselytes, so let them proceed in the manner in which they have begun; they may fine, imprison and doom to hard labour, but they cannot destroy the principle, as John Thelwall observes, "The spirit of a great Reformer martyred for a glorious principle, will rise again. The Phoenix mind springs triumphant from the Pyre; and the winds that scatter the ashes of the martyr, propagate the principles for which he fell."

You will oblige us by remembering us to Mrs. Carlile and your worthy sister Mary Ann Carlile, also to Rhodes, Holmes, and all our persecuted friends, and we assure them nothing can be stronger than our detestation and abhorrence of their blood-thirsty persecutors, and we fervently hope that the day will soon arrive when they will receive some recompence for the many privations and sufferings they undergo in the great cause of universal liberty. In the hope that we may soon see you at liberty, and our oppressors suffering condign punishment and all our fellow creatures enjoying the privileges of rational beings.

I remain, dear Sir, on behalf of the whole,

Your humble admirer,

JOHN HARPER.

Subscriptions from the Miles Platting Reading Society.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Charles Hawksworth	2	0	George Bertinshaw	0	6
George Webster	0	6	William Cochrane	0	6
Dawson Addison	1	6	C. a Friend	0	6
William Nelson	2	0	Charles Coyle	0	6
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John Tongue and Teeth	0	6	John Harper	8	0
Death to Tyrants	0	6	An Enemy to that Craft that can		
Isaac Ashton	5	0	render us no assistance when		
Haslingden	2	6	we stand most in need	2	0
Thomas Wood, a Friend to Deism	1	0	An Inspector of Religion	5	0
J. B. Mellor, Do.	1	0	Leo, or may the Lion tear down		
George Rainskar	1	0	all Hypocrites	0	6
John Rathbury	1	0	R. C. a Materialist	1	0
John Tute	1	0			

TO MR. JOHN HARPER, MANCHESTER.

WORTHY CITIZEN, Dorchester Gaol, May 5, 1822.

THE handsome support which I continue to receive from the members of the Miles Platting Reading Society, calls forth my warmest acknowledgment and gratitude, and strengthens my opinions of the importance of such associations as a union for the support of sound principles and free discussion; for I am not vain enough to imagine that I possess any distinct personal qualifications that command your esteem, or that have called forth your support. I aim at nothing more than a complete identification with the principles I advocate, and which you approve and advocate in your turn. Your subscriptions and my imprisonment should be viewed as equal sacrifices to procure an equal good, or a common benefit for all in practising and supporting the right of free discussion in opposition to the corrupt and tyrannical power that forbids it.

I daily become more and more convinced of the necessity of supporting all the political propositions of Thomas Paine, and I venture the prediction that there will be no real liberty, no stable government, no social compact, in this country, before a majority of the People shall determine to put these propositions in practice. There are certainly several men whom I could wish to see speaking out upon this matter, but I feel assured their silence cannot change principles, nor much retard the power of propagating those which we conceive to be the best, unless they can shew us how and where we are in error. I shall continue to speak all I think, as what I conceive to be the duty of every public writer, and the proper characteristic of manhood and of liberty. I never will confess myself a slave, although I may be compelled

to submit to a power that I have not physical strength to resist. I may submit until I can resist effectually, but I will not profess respect for the tyranny that persecutes and robs me, even if it be demanded upon pain of further penalties than those already imposed. The power that robs and persecutes me for the expression of an opinion, will apply to another, therefore it becomes the duty of all to assist in putting it down, for whilst it has existence there is no social compact inviolate, there is nothing like liberty.

We must derive sufficient power from the extension of our knowledge and our numbers to cope with the tyranny that oppresses us. This is the only clue to the acquirement of liberty, be it our duty to pursue it.

I am, respected Citizen,
Yours, in pursuit of the common weal,
R. CARLILE.

AN ADDRESS TO MRS. AND MARY-ANN CARLILE,
FROM THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MAN-
CHESTER.

BELoved AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED SISTERS,
We, the undersigned Females, possessing liberal principles, and hearts of humanity towards our fellow females and sisters in the cause of Liberty, now suffering confinement in Dorchester Gaol for advocating truth and reason, beg you to accept both our condolence and congratulation: To Mrs. Carlile, for doing what every honest and virtuous woman considers to be her duty, namely, to obey the voice of her husband, according with what every married woman promises in her marriage ceremony, we offer our thanks for her good example. It is with horror and detestation we think upon the unmanly, unnatural and brutal conduct practised upon her while suffering from the birth of her infant son, Thomas Paine Carlile, by a set of monsters in human form, calling themselves Christians; and that too under a pretence of supporting the Christian Religion. If the Christian Religion is to be supported at the expence of inflicting tortures upon our fellow creatures; at the expence of robbing us of our homes, and every comfort of life, and placing us, our husbands and children, in dungeons and chains, then away with such imposition, bigotry and superstition, such knavery and priestcraft from the earth; and let a system of justice and humanity, that is more consistent with reason and common sense succeed it. A something that will make the idle, indolent and roguish priests honest and industrious; and the banditti of dronish, worthless, and op-

pressive tyrants humane; or banish them from the earth, as undeserving the society of men, and only fit companions for devils, if any such beings there be.

We consider the cruelty and diabolical conduct practised towards Mary-Ann Carlile during the disturbed state of the prison, at the time of the fire, to be another convincing proof of the necessity of a change of things. When felons and common prostitutes receive the approbation of men in power, so far as to give them liberty to assist each other, and all of them have the space of the gaol; while our sister, Mary-Ann, who possesses a mind of benevolence, and can boast of a life of moral virtue, is fast bolted by double doors, subjected to suffocation, and denied assistance by her Christian keeper. This, this alone is sufficient to convince the considerate mind of the necessity of a Republican System of Government, where justice will be administered to all, or redress obtained in default thereof.

It is the wish of the undersigned Females, by subscribing their mites together, as far as their situation in a land of oppression and taxation will admit, first to shew a token of humanity and respect towards you; and in the second place, to convince our enemies that we approve of your conduct, and glory in your spirit; we are not ashamed to come forward and prove to the people of England that there are yet women possessed of common sense and reason. We abhor with detestation, and protest that it is injustice to persecute, imprison, and rob, under pretence of fine, any person for publishing his or her principles on any subject. We believe that free discussion on all subjects, both political and religious, is the right of every creature living; and every effort to destroy free discussion is oppressive and tyrannical.

The small trifle of £2. 2s. enclosed, we wish you to accept as a token of our regard to you for your past conduct; and also with our sincere wishes that Mrs. Carlile may be brought through her approaching natural pain and sorrow with safety; and that you may both rise triumphant over all your enemies, is the sincere wish of your real Friends.

Signed, in Behalf of the Subscribers,

MARY WALKER.

Manchester, 9, back of Piccadilly,
April 30, 1822.

P. S. The Female Committee of Manchester received from their Friends of Bolton, the following articles to forward to Mrs. Carlile, which are requested to be noticed as follow:

Mrs. Ridgway, the wife of the incarcerated Ridgway, one Frock.
Mrs. P. T. Candlet, one Frock Waist.
Margaret Clarke, a real Deist, but hath

the misfortune to be the wife of a Christian, sends you the present of silk.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Mary Walker	3	0	Mary Varley	0	3
Rachel Thompson	2	6	Susanna Fairclough	0	6
Martha Nesby	3	0	Jane Aldred	0	2
Nancy Wheeler	3	0	Jane Moon	0	2
J. Foster	2	6	Maria Massey	0	2
Mary-Anne Tilford	2	0	Margaret Cooper	0	2
Mary-Anne Rhodes, daughter of Joseph Rhodes, now con- fined in Giltspur street Comp- ter for two years hard labour, as the only way to learn the blessings of Christianity	2	0	Martha Massey	0	3
Elizabeth Baker	1	0	Mary Mitchel	0	3
Elizabeth Nelson	1	0	Jane Mc Farling	0	3
Ellen Bottomley	1	0	Ann Bethel	0	2
Sarah Gratrix	1	0	Elizabeth Needham	0	2
Sarah Chatan	1	0	Alice Bradshaw	0	3
Abigail Longbottom	1	3	Isabella Lever	0	3
A Female Republican	1	0	Mrs. Harrison	0	2
Admirers of the Temple of Rea- son's Clock	1	9	Margaret Crowther	0	6
Mrs. Smith	1	0	Elizabeth Patten	0	1
Ann Oddey	0	3	Martha Rackley	0	2
Mace Darlington	0	6	Mary Chapman	0	3
Jane Owen	0	6	Mary Collings	0	3
Hannah Bethel	0	6	Catharine Digglen	0	2
Sarah Couter	0	6	Ellen Coker	0	1
Elizabeth Riddle	0	6	An Enemy to Superstition	0	2
Mary Berry	0	6	Jane Gradwell	0	6
Mary Whitaker	0	6	Friend Sarah	0	3
Mrs. Booth	0	6	Jane Lithgate	0	6
Mary Holland	0	3	Margaret Akers	0	6
Mary Macave	0	2	Ann Beswick	0	3
Mary Dodd	0	1	Near the old Church	0	4
A Friend	0	6	Elizabeth Teasdale	0	6
			Ann Reynolds	0	3
			Sarah Aberdeen	0	6
			Mrs. Hutchinson	0	6
			Mrs. Taylor	0	2
			Ellen Smith	0	2

TO THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MAN- CHESTER.

Dorchester Gaol, May 4, 1822.

NOBLE MINDED WOMEN,
YOUR comforting address, with the very pleasing presents that accompanied it, have been duly and thankfully received, and have added much to the satisfaction we previously felt in knowing that though imprisoned, we had done nothing to disgrace ourselves as females.

Mrs. Carlile felt an inexpressible delight at the provision which you, in conjunction with her friends, the Republican Weavers of Bolton, have made for her *yet unborn* infant, and pledges herself that each article of dress shall always have the preference to any she has provided herself, and shall be first worn.

If we had not something like a protector with us, we cannot imagine what sort of treatment would be awarded us in this place: at present it is of the most unmanly, and even inhuman kind. Would you believe that if either of us walk out alone, during the hour we are allowed to walk, a man is appointed to watch us and dog us until we are locked up again. We are not only denied the satisfaction of sympathizing with or relieving any poor female in this place, but we are forbidden to speak or to give a compassionate look to any of them, and to effect this object, we are always, when unlocked, under the watching of a sentinel.

We have been here deeply impressed with the knowledge that there is no connection between the words Christianity and humanity, and that every supporter of a corrupt and tyrannical government is a tyrant within his sphere of rule.

The lurking priest who is paid as a chaplain in this prison, is incessantly impressing his stupid lore upon other prisoners, but he does not venture to shew us that we have done wrong. It may be judged from this simple case, that he can only practise his detestable schemes where ignorance most prevails. We often wish he would attempt to convert us, if it were but as a matter of amusement, for every thing is a dull, and often painful sameness here. We find nothing to relieve that powerful curiosity which is not unjustly attributed to our sex.

However, such kindnesses as you have shewn us, are quite sufficient to counterbalance every thing we find disagreeable here, and if by our sufferings we rouse into action some of the best feelings of the female mind, we have an ample reward.

Were we to say that we like imprisonment, we should not speak the truth; and being incessantly locked up in the same room with Mr. Carlile, whose affairs and duties often require a sort of silence that is not most agreeable to us, makes us feel it more than we otherwise should. Our periods of imprisonment are fast drawing to a close, and if we have effected any good we shall be happy in all our future reflections upon it, when the men of this country shall manage their own affairs and be in a condition to protect us from the tyrants by whom we are now oppressed. That this time may speedily arrive, and that you may long live to enjoy it, is the sincere wish of your affectionate friends,

JANE CARLILE,
MARY-ANNE CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

Manchester, April 28, 1822.

A FEW Republicans of Manchester, out of the thousands it contains, request your acceptance of another portion of your fines, subscribed from their scanty pittances for one of the best purposes that ever human beings congregated their mites to support, namely, TRUTH opposed to all the corruptions and hypocrisy it is possible to plant upon the human mind.

The efforts of the enemies to Free Discussion are unavailing, for the very means they use to put it down form the surest means of exciting it. Where Knowledge has once dawned on the human mind, it pants instantly to be rid of the shackles of Ignorance and Superstition, and will rise and triumph over Bigotry and Fanaticism. Like the electric fluid, nothing can resist or repel knowledge; art may conduct and add to its powers and uses, but cannot change or prevent its acting somewhere.

We return our sincere thanks to our opponents in opinion for the erection of Sunday and Free Schools, and other seminaries of learning, for as different branches of knowledge increase, Christianity, Judaism, Mahometism, Paganism, and all other idolisms, must recede from the face of the earth, and man become what Nature has evidently fitted him for—a free and willing agent to all that is good and useful in society.

Express our grateful recollections to your Wife and Sister, and when your next young Republican has its birth, you must give it the best nursing you can in the difficult and disagreeable situation in which you are placed. We will not fail to assist you as far as it lays in our power.

From your Friend and Well-wisher,

JOHN BOTTOMLEY.

Allum Street, Manchester.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Citizen John Bottomley	0	1	0	Thomas Cope	0	0	4
James Cruthers	0	0	6	Peter Hand	0	0	4
Edward Jones	0	1	0	Samuel Hume	0	0	4
John Ashburn	0	0	6	Harry Wheeler	0	0	6
By Citizen James Thomson	0	1	0	John Gradwell	0	0	4
Charles Thomson	0	0	6	Joseph Gibson	0	0	4
James Bees	0	2	6	A Dairy-Maid	0	0	6
Mary Walker	0	1	0	Joseph Tilford	0	10	0
John Gratrix	0	1	0	Mical Paxton	0	5	0
John Chorlton	0	0	6	William Campion	1	0	0
Samuel Kenyon	0	0	6	James Wheeler	1	0	0
Joseph Chorlton	0	0	6	Charles Hawksworth	0	5	0
Elizabeth Gaunt	0	0	4	Enos Potts	0	5	0

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1819, but lest it should be thought it had my approbation, I beg decidedly to state, that I think it a most imprudent, ill-judged measure, and that it has been entirely the work of the lawyers connected with it. Where the funds for the action came from is not public, but I have always conjectured it was from the sum of £600 subscribed for Sir Francis Burdett, which the Baronet declined to accept, and preferred its application to the sufferers at Manchester from the murderous attack of the Yeomanry. I offer this only as my own conjecture, I have never received a hint of the kind from any other quarter. The proceedings on this action have given a false colouring to the whole affair of the 16th of August, 1819, and even the Judges of the Court of King's Bench have been made to pronounce the conduct of your Magistrates and Yeomanry as praiseworthy. All this we must not be surprised at, but those murders must eventually be avenged, in spite of all intrigue to cool or stifle the matter. Under this view, I have considered the proceeding by action for damages as contemptible, and not worth notice but for condemnation.

Let the Republicans of Manchester persevere in the good cause of a Representative System of Government; let them practice in every shape possible the right of Free Discussion; let them "*think, speak all they think, and violate not the human mind,*" as the late celebrated Stewart was continually recommending. A man who holds opinions which he fears to utter, is a slave, and had better be an idiot without opinions. Better not to think than to fear to speak what we think. If there be a power in existence that forbids us to speak what we think, we are slaves and persecuted beings. Pope says,

The mind's the standard of the man.

Byron says, *'twas made to sway*, he might have added, and *not to be swayed*. Then, if you value true Liberty, protect the mind from all untoward influence, and give it a free range. Where it is free it injures nothing, where it is shackled, Nature is violated and will be revenged.

I feel happy to be in open correspondence with the Republicans of Manchester, as that town forms the metropolis of the North, and gives a tone to a very populous district. I hope the union we are now forming will be upon such a principle, that it must increase and strengthen even so as to become indissoluble.

I am, Citizen, yours respectfully,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

London, Sunday, April 28, 1822.

WE request your acceptance of the sum of £1. 1s. 6d. towards the payment of your Fine, being a second subscription of a few Republican Mechanics, and as a token of gratitude for your bold and persevering endeavours to eradicate that bane of human happiness—**Revealed Religion.**

	s.	d.		s.	d.
G. H.	1	0	A Friend to Civil and Religious Liberty	2	6
The Son of God, the same as Jesus Christ was	2	6	An Enemy to the Black Locusts that eateth the Tenth Part of the Husbandman's Labour	2	6
Mary, Mother of the above, but nevertheless a Virgin	0	6	T. B. Van	1	0
An Enemy to Cant, Hypocrisy, and Falsehood, consequently, to Priests and Kings	1	0	D.	0	6
My Mite for the brave Carlile	1	0	T.	0	6
Non-descript	1	0	A Friend to the Cause	0	6
G. M.	1	0	A true Deist	1	0
L. S.	1	0	An original Deist	1	0
W. P.	1	0	W. Z.	1	0
			An Enemy to Persecution	0	6
			E. B.	0	6

A FURTHER SUBSCRIPTION FROM STOKESLEY, YORKSHIRE.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Coates, Naturalist	5	0	A prepared Man for the approaching Revolution	1	0
Amariah Batty, Castleton	5	0	A little Boy who laughs at Ghosts and Devils	0	6
Robert Armstrong	5	0	Mr. Fawell, of Stockton	1	0
A Female Republican and Deist	2	6	Ralph Lodge	1	6
A ditto, ditto	1	0			
Democritus from the Shades	2	0			

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

Failsworth, April 30, 1822.

A FEW Republicans who live in the parish of Failsworth, near Manchester, send you the sum of 1l. 8s. 3d., as an acknowledgment of the benefits they have received from the perusal of your truly valuable publications. They regret that the ruthless hand of tyranny hath so circumscribed their finances, that they cannot

send you a greater declaration of their esteem, but they hope to send you another and much larger sum before the term of your imprisonment expires.

They congratulate you upon the noble stand, the effectual efforts you have made against the corrupt establishments of this enslaved and degraded nation. They feel assured that your past and present conduct is more praiseworthy, more deserving of the support of rational beings, than that of any other Reformer of the present day, and as such they will support you to the extent of their power.

Religion, which you have so ably exposed, hath been one uniform curse to the human species; it hath depraved the nature of man, contracted his energies, been a blur to science and a bane to the advancement of useful knowledge. Shall we then hesitate to rescue our degraded countrymen from its pernicious trammels? No! let us support those apostles and disciples of nature who are now incarcerated in the dungeon of the oppressor. Let us take care that their spirits be not cooled, their energies chilled by the icy hand of public ingratitude; let us award to them the meed of approbation and support, and industriously assist them in the cause of nature and of truth which they have so ably defended.

We send our most hearty thanks to your amiable Wife and no less amiable Sister, and feel confident that the time is fast approaching when you will be remunerated for the losses you have sustained by the royal robberies that have been made upon your valuable property. Trusting that you will acknowledge the sums subscribed in the pages of the Republican.

I remain, in behalf of the whole,

Your Friend and Fellow-Citizen,

ELIJAH RIDINGS.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Blakely	1	6	J. Clough	0	6
John Blakely, Jun.	0	8	William Aldred	0	6
John Whitaker	1	6	Ame Smith, a Friend to those		
Joseph Whitehead	1	6	who are persecuted by Ty-		
I. J.	2	6	rants	0	6
Daniel Wright	0	8	James Ogden	0	6
Joseph Pollis	1	6	T. Orridge, no Christian but a		
Samuel Clough	2	0	Deist	1	0
Henry Hilton	1	0	S. Taylor, a Friend to Humanity	0	6
John Fletcher	1	2	John Travis	0	3
John Simister	1	0	A Friend to Liberty	0	6
Charles Collinsor	0	6	Joseph Whitaker	0	6
J. Whitehead	0	6	Robert Berry	1	6
T. Barlow	0	6	William Ford subscribes to Mr.		
J. Smith	1	6	Carlile for his publishing the		
Peter Fletcher	0	6	"Age of Reason"	1	0
James Swift	0	6	A Friend	0	3
James Wilde, an admirer of the			A better Friend	1	0
principles of Liberty,	1	6	A Draw-boy	0	3

TO MR. ELIJAH RIDINGS, FAILSWORTH.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

BE pleased to return my thanks to the Republicans of the parish of Failsworth near Manchester, for this continued support, and assure them that I will strain every nerve to establish the right of free discussion; an object which, when once acquired, will make a complete change in the condition of the human race. It will annihilate tyranny and slavery and give power to the industrious, to whom power can alone properly belong! Slavery will ever be proportionate with ignorance, so that the man who does not studiously seek to improve his mind and his morals may be termed an habitual and willing slave. He is not a slave by nature but by sloth: Nature knows no slaves, nor does she encourage them in any shape; they are unnatural beings whose slothful habits fit them for a subserviency that often proves worse than the most laborious industry and defeats its own desires. To evade this, seek the power of knowledge which is the source of all power. A Castlereagh would tremble before a Cobbett if they could meet on equal terms, and where a question was to be decided by them alone.

I am happy to find that the Reformers in and about Manchester are at length upon what I will call the right scent. I perceive they are studying principles instead of names, and adapting themselves to merit the honourable epithet of Republican citizens. They are progressing in knowledge and acquainting themselves well with what constitutes a social or political philosophy: that is the means of freeing the mind from all shackles, and the body from all unprofitable labour; to rescue the one from the grasp of the tithe-gathering Priest, and the other from that of the tax-gathering King: this my friends is the right road to liberty and happiness, turn not aside from it but proceed straight forward.

Mrs. Carlile and my sister Mary Ann return thanks for your mention of them, and beg to say they will never be ashamed to look in the faces of their persecutors.

Yours, in civic esteem,

R. CARLILE

TO MR. R. CARLILE DORCHESTER GAOL.

FRIEND AND CITIZEN,

Bolton, April 27, 1822.

At the desire of friends in Bolton, I request your acceptance of their second subscription towards the liquidation of the Christian fines imposed upon you, and which I have placed to your credit in the hands of Mr. Wheeler of Manchester, amounting to the sum of 2l. 13s. 10d.

Were it possible to accept the will for the deed it would have satisfied the hypocritic Shylocks for their bond, and have set your body as free as your mind is unshackled. Meanwhile, permit me to assure you that the persecution of your self and family does not like a summer cloud pass over without our special wonder, and will undoubtedly be handed down to posterity in the page of history, to the eternal disgrace of its perpetrators. What! in the enlightend 19th century, and in a land of Bibles and Humane Societies, to incarcerate an individual and his family for propagating opinions only.

The question naturally arises, are these opinions founded upon truth or error. If the former, they are never to be eradicated by coercion; if the latter, why do not the well fed bishops and church dignitaries expose them. They certainly have an interest in supporting the doctrine, by them called orthodox, but it is very difficult to perceive what interest you have in propagating opinions for which bonds and imprisonment await you. Surely in exposing the cant of hypocrisy—arresting the career of error and unveiling the beauties of Truth, there is a pleasure which none but patriots know.

I am desired by the subscribers to state, that their sympathy for the sufferings of yourself and family or their determination to support you, does not arise from a full conviction of the truth or expediency of all your tenets; they are fully of opinion that every man ought to judge for himself; they read your works and see no danger in your speculations. They are fully convinced that you are persecuted by men who make a cloak of religion, and a tyrant of their God, and have no doubt that if the principles you profess were supported by our temporal governors, Parsons H. and E. (we mean, if you think proper to print it, Hay and Ethelston) would very readily embrace and propagate the same, if their salaries were continued.

We offer your wife and sister our condolence and sympathy, and have sent them a few specimens of our workmanship, and beg their acceptance of the same, with sincere wishes that your fortitude and courage may support you under all your unmerited privations for friends and subscribers, I remain

Yours, to command,

Agreed at the Bolton Union Rooms,

JOHN HEYS.

April 27th, 1822.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Heys	3	0	William Thompson	1	0
Oliver Nicholson	1	0	Edward Bowker	0	6
Robert Ellison	1	0	William Udall	0	6
William Whitelegg, Sen.	1	0	Thomas Settle	0	2
William Whitelegg, Jun.	1	6	Admirer	1	0
John Chora	1	3	James Lee	1	0
David France	1	6	A Friend to the Priest Pincher	3	0
John Kennerdall	1	6	One that abhors that Parson (at		
Ralph Kennerdall	1	6	any rate) that could be calmly		
Edward Kennerdall	1	6	viewing the countenances of		
Peter France	1	6	the Atheists, while the Yeo-		
John Kennerdall, Jun.	0	6	manry were murdering the		
Richard Wittam	1	0	People	2	0
James Smith	1	0	A Friend to Philosophical Society	3	0
Samuel Pollet	0	6	A Religious Inspector	5	0
William Cuerden	0	3	George Wood	0	2
John Hamnorton	0	6	William Butterworth	0	6
William Brown	0	6	Isaac Holden	0	3
Oliver Crook	0	6	Joseph Lee	0	6
Thomas Pickerbank	1	0	Richard Thompson	0	2
A Friend to Truth	0	6	John Heaton	0	6
Richard Fletcher	0	6	Friend to the Cause	0	6
James Holm	0	1	Joseph Edge	0	6
James Heaton	1	0	Peter Greenhalgh	0	6
More Faithful than Fortunate	2	6	William Smith	1	0
Ann Hallaway	0	6	A Friend	1	0
Mary Ann Thornly	0	3	James Barns	0	6
Leady Thornly	0	3	John Swain Clark	1	0
Mr. Candlish	1	0	James Nevo	0	6
John Lee	0	6			

The Republicans of Bolton request Mrs. Carlile to accept the few samples of their manufacture, which the Weavers wished to forward with the second subscription, to prove that they have not forgot her merit or the delicate situation in which she is placed.

1. Victory and Tuck Frock. By John Wrigley, jun.
2. Frock, Mock Victory and Tuck. By William Clemment.
3. Frock, Japan spot and Mock Victory. By Jonathan Heaton.
4. Frock, Tuck with Lilac Cord. By Edward Kennerdal.
5. Jaconet for Caps. By James Thornley.
6. For Caps, Victory and Twill. By Richard Whittam.
7. 60 Reed Cambric. By Henry Hibbert.

This is the standard fabric from which all descriptions of Muslins in this district are calculated as to working prices, which were never lower than at the present moment; as for instance, in 1792, the Weaver received 3s. per yard; in 1802, 1s. 2d.; in 1814, 1s. 1d.; in 1817, 5d.; and in the present year (1822) are only receiving 4d. per yard. The Marquis of Londonderry is reported to have said that the manufacturing districts were in a flourishing state, and receiving 1s. for the same work which used to be done for 8d., and, on the other hand, that they could now purchase the same provisions for 8d. they used to pay 1s. for. The public, from this sample furnished by the great Thunderer, will be able to

draw proper estimates from any future statements of the kind which he or any of his coadjutors may attempt to palm on the country.

The apparent object of this gross falsehood is to shift the working of the system from the Agricultural Interest, who have always been prosperous till now. The Manufacturers have been ruined in great numbers, but for them there was no redress; the only answer to their numerous Petitions was that trade must find its own level, and though an artificial famine and consequent starvation will be the immediate result, which upwards of a million will have to suffer who are dependent on the Cotton Manufacture. Whatever may happen in this way, they seem fully determined not to petition the Thunderer any more.

JOHN HEYS.

TO MR. JOHN HEYS, BOLTON.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, May 3, 1822.

To the Republicans of Bolton, I beg to say that this further proof of their support of the right of free discussion is particularly cheering to me, as it strongly argues the decline of delusion and superstition in that town. I ask no man to subscribe to my opinions unless he fully comprehends them, but I tell every man that I value them as high as he may any that he may hold, and as a member of the community I demand and will assert the right of publishing, defending and propagating them in every shape possible, as I have no fear in having them controverted, nor interest in supporting them as opinions; I shall be as willing to change if they can, as I am determined to hold to them if they cannot, be controverted. This, according to my ideas, constitutes what is called free discussion.

I boldly pronounce to you, my fellow countrymen, that the Christian Priests cannot defend as true the doctrines they preach, and for preaching which they live in luxury upon the produce of your labour. I have challenged and do challenge any of them to the discussion, or to contend against me that all religion is not all idolatry. They were never challenged upon this point before, therefore, if they cannot support themselves against my attack by other argument than fines, robberies and imprisonments, their deluded hearers ought to ask themselves the question; Why they cannot?

I have ridded my mind of every thing to which the word *religion* relates. I have fully stated my reasons and inducements for this act of the mind, and I am prepared to

answer any questions from any sensible person upon the matter. Religion I have discovered to be a part and a main part of every corrupt system of government, and where a government recognises and protects any distinct system or systems of religion, that government cannot be free from corruption. It is a corrosion upon the industry of the body politic; it is the cankerworm of society.

Mrs. Carlile and my sister Mary Ann return their thanks to the Republicans of Bolton for their kind remembrance of them, and the presents of the different specimens of their workmanship, and beg to say that the solace of such an acknowledgment heightens that of the consciousness that their imprisonment has arisen from an act of duty and of right, and not from any misdemeanour either moral or legal.

I am, Citizen, your fellow labourer,

R. CARLILE.

TO MRS. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR MADAM,

It is with feelings of regret at the unparalleled situation in which you are now placed, that I venture to condole with you for what you endure from the infliction of those who preach passive obedience whilst they profess it to be in good will towards mankind. Where shall we look for the necessary examples of their morality and humanity to support their precepts? I can find them nowhere.

I am one of those who witnessed the blood-stained field of St. Peter's, and suffered eleven days incarceration in one of the Boroughmongers' Bastiles because I was exposed to the sabres of a ferocious Yeomanry Cavalry, whilst I was performing what I then conceived and now conceive to have been my duty: and even after this, I anticipate the day that will free you from the trammels of our tyrants.

That the God of Nature may assist you through the great pain and peril you must naturally endure, and that you may escape those very common and very alarming diseases, "an inflammation in the bowels," and "a hereditary cancer in the stomach," which attend those whom our tyrants wish to destroy, is my hearty prayer.

I beg your acceptance of the small present enclosed, being the work of my own hands, which I flatter myself will be more acceptable to you than if they were diamonds from a tyrant.

I am, Madam, yours with the greatest respect,

ELIZABETH GAUNT.

Manchester, April 29, 1822.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH GAUNT, MANCHESTER.

DEAR MADAM, Dorchester Gaol, May 4, 1822.
MY warmest thanks accept for the very handsome little Pair of Shoes you have been so kind to send me, of your own manufacture, and be assured they shall be the first on the feet of my daily-expected infant, whose birth shall be announced to the Female Republicans of Manchester as early as possible, if every thing passes off as well as I hope.

My spirits and constitutional strength are good, or I should have every thing to dread in child-birth in such a place as this, where humanity is a marketable commodity, and where, what is still worse, I am one of those excluded from the market, at any price.

My very close confinement has greatly augmented the sufferings of pregnancy, but my humane and very Reverend Keepers have nothing but inveterate prejudices for my accommodation. Up to this moment we are locked into one room, and such seems likely to be the case at the moment of my labour.

For the small presents of Cotton and Needles, which accompanied the Shoes, my thanks are offered wherever they are due.

The pleasure which is derived from such acts of kindness and affection from Females to whom I can be only known by name, is a complete balance to the mind for the pain of imprisonment. I cannot treat imprisonment with so light a heart as my husband does, as it has tended to disperse my children; to bring whom together makes me wish for liberty more than any thing else. However, the time will now soon arrive, and neither my children or myself will ever have occasion to blush at the cause of my incarceration.

I was neither a politician nor theologian before my imprisonment, but a sentence for Two Years has roused feelings in me that I might never have otherwise possessed. I have been made to feel the necessity of reforming the abuses of the Government; as I am sure, that under a Representative System of Government no Woman would have been sent to Prison for Two Years, for publishing an assertion that tyrants ought to be treated as dangerous and destructive beasts of prey. I have been made to think it, as well as to publish it.

I am, Madam, respectfully yours,

JANE CARLILE.

R. CARLILE returns thanks for the sum of ten pounds received from S. at Paris:

The friend who has subscribed this sum describes himself as a well-wisher to the cause of liberty and free enquiry, and an enemy to Kingcraft, Priestcraft, and Lawyercraft. He admits that Kings are the most worthless part of mankind, and will, in the natural course of events, be expelled from Europe: yet he thinks the cause of liberty will flourish better if no person be forced to the acknowledgment that a Republican form of Government is preferable whilst Kings have so much power to do mischief, and therefore frighten and prevent many good men from a pursuit of a more extended liberty. He also thinks the question of Theology should not be pushed further than it was done by Mr. Paine, in his *Age of Reason*, lest a cry of Atheism be raised and many be deterred from all enquiry.

Another friend, on the same paper, has written the following remarks:

The person through whose means this is sent from France, and whom Mr. Carlile shall one day know, adds what follows: "I am decidedly of opinion that whilst a king or a priest shall exist on the face of the earth, mankind will never enjoy that degree of happiness of which their nature is capable. My creed is, "Do good to all; but at all events, never do to others that which you would not wish should be done to yourself." My worship consists "in the admiration and enjoyment of the works of Nature." As to a form of Government, I think a Republic in which *all* the offices are elective is the only form *fit for man to live under*. From this, you will see that I go as far in these matters as you can go; but I agree with my worthy friend in thinking that you are injuring our cause by *driving too fast*. Men's minds are not yet prepared for the blaze of light that you are letting in upon them; and by dividing the Reformers you weaken their ranks, and paralyze their energy. Let us but obtain a Reform (a radical one I mean) free discussion will immediately follow, and *Truth will prevail*. Wishing you and your amiable fellow sufferers all health and happiness, I remain, most sincerely, yours,

SIDNEY, JUN.

These remarks, upon a first view, may appear to carry some weight with them; but I feel perfectly convinced that they cannot be maintained by any sound argument. If it cannot be shewn that an open avowal of what the mind conceives to be the truth, or the best principles of Government, is a means calculated to defer or to defeat the end, then the propriety of speaking out, or rather the objection to the propriety of it, is nothing more than one of

the expedients of fear, and deserves not the appellation of a prudential or personal caution. It is my conviction, that if each person would speak out what he really thinks, a greater good, and a more speedy remedy for all abuses, would be accomplished, than by pursuing such temporising measures as the bulk of mankind now adopt. The best means to promote the end is always the proper object for consideration, and I cannot concur in the suggestion of my unknown friends, that too great a degree of truth or of light can be thrown upon the human mind at one time, nor can I concur in the idea that there may be an improper time for such a display of truth.

One of my friends observes, that a free discussion will be sure to follow a Radical Reform: him I would respectfully remind, that a Radical Reform will be sure to follow a free discussion, but never will nor can precede it. It is free discussion that must produce a Radical Reform. No other power can produce it. Free discussion is the emblem of a free people, and a people cannot be free without it; therefore, to constitute freedom is the work of free discussion. Radical Reform will be the effect of the cause—a free discussion of abuses. Distress may produce convulsion, but never yet produced a Radical Reform; this is the work of a free discussion of all principles. Very little reflection is necessary to comprehend that free discussion is the cause, and Radical Reform the effect, and that my friend has placed the effect before the cause. Therefore, I feel justified, from this conviction, which I trust I have here put in a proper light, in practising free discussion to the utmost of my power, even if it shackles my body.

To those who say my publications are too strong for the present state of the public mind, and think that more good may be done by publishing the freethinking publications of Locke, Middleton, Tindal, Chubb, Collins, and others, I ask what good did those publications effect when they first appeared? What effect or impression did they make upon the public mind, or have they made, up to this time? Did bigotry receive the least check from them? I think not. I am pretty well acquainted with all the publications called Deistical that ever were publicly published in England and Scotland, and although I have reprinted a few of them, such as the Doubts of Infidels, Annett's Miraculous Conception, the Life of David, and a few others, yet my firm opinion is, that none that appeared before the French Revolution are now really worth reprinting as calculated to

propagate sound Deistical principles. They were all written under an evident fear of persecution.

It is much to the honour of France that the best Deistical works have been written there. Perhaps Mr. Paine would never have produced such a work as the *Age of Reason* in England or America; that he did not we are certain from what has appeared so far.

I am an advocate for dashing at all prejudices without ceremony, and for paying no complaisance to falsehood, as Mr. Paine would say. The moment I perceived that Materialism was a clearer and more comprehensible system than Mr. Paine's Deism, I advanced without hesitation and avowed the former. To attack prejudices by a sidewind is very tedious, and in my opinion a trifling process, and if we can shew that such prejudices are erroneous, I think the best way to destroy them is to shock them by a bold denunciation of falsehood. Let ever so firm and conscientious a Christian stand before me, and let me tell him that his God or Gods are a mere idol or idols, and engage to prove it to him; even if he refuses to hear me, can he leave my presence with the same convictions as he held when he first came to me? No. He must inevitably doubt, or if he did not, he would be bold to dispute the point. This, then, is the ground on which I proceed. I pronounce the Gods of the Jews, Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans, to be nothing more than idols, and by this open pronouncement, I feel assured that I excite more doubt and enquiry in the public mind than did all the Deistical works written in England before "*The Age of Reason*" appeared. I challenge any priest or layman to dispute the point with me, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that none yet venture to do it. All talk about the evidences of Christianity is a trifling with the question; let us come to the fundamental point at once: is or is not the Christian Deity an idol? To all Christians I proclaim that it is, and am ready to refute every argument any one of them can bring forward to the contrary. I have just been reading some of Dr. Priestly's works upon this head, and the trammels in which he places himself by attempting to keep up the notion of such a God as Christianity embraces (although his is quite a new-fangled Christianity) makes him quite ridiculous and vulnerable on all sides. I shall go on to publish the best of the French works, such as "*Le Bon Sens*," of which I printed a few extracts last week, and the celebrated work of Dupuis on all Religions, and leave the old English freethinkers to

any person who will take care of them. I shall never lose sight of getting a more complete and effectual translation of the *Système de la Nature*. Although many editions have been printed of it in our language, I am informed by those who can read the original that it has never yet had justice done it by any translator, and that it has been both mangled and interpolated. Had I been so well acquainted with its importance in 1819, as I now am, I might have embraced a good offer by the translator of "Volney's Ruins," but I yet hope to come to terms with him upon this subject.

As to the point of my driving too far and too fast, being calculated to divide the Reformers, it must be settled upon the same argument as the question about publishing too much truth at one time. I find quite a sufficient company on the road to encourage me to drive on, and I know there are thousands before me, and quite up to their journees end, whom I shall never leave behind. There are some who pronounce me tardy and would fain add an impulse to my motion. It is the Goal of Liberty we are in pursuit of, and if all exertions are to be reduced to some drowsy standard we shall never reach it. Far better is it to apply the spur and the whip to those who are tardy, careless and indolent, than to check the ardour of those who are making all speed.

Further, I would observe, a combination of Reformers upon the rotten principles of what is called Moderate Reform, or even of what some men call Radical Reform, would be more calculated to retard the final and most important object than to accelerate it. What if there had been a means of Lord John Russell's motion being carried for lopping off one hundred of the rotten boroughs? Would it not have been a species of contract with the Crown and Aristocracy that the Reformers were to stop there? What would be said by the tyrants if an attempt were to be made to make a similar advance in the next session of Parliament? I have no objection to any species of Reform however moderate so as it be obtained without any stipulation for cessation from pressing it further; but it is deeply impressed on my mind that there never will be any partial Reform obtained in this country; a Radical Reform may be moderate or moderately obtained. Moderation is nothing more than the antithesis or absence of violence; therefore, what we ought all to aim at is, a moderate Radical Reform, and that it shall be obtained by one impulse, and not by degrees which will only tend to heighten dissatisfaction and incite to violence, or to banish moderation. To obtain this we

must first comprehend what is Radical and bring a majority of the People to do the same, then those who are divided and left behind are insignificant and of little consequence. There is no fear of divisions where the principles are sound; and combinations upon rotten principles are useless and un-availing.

R. CARLILE.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Verses which Mr. John Reader has sent us as having received from a native of Ireland to get published, two years since, it happens Mr. Carlile printed in 1819, for the professed Author, and sold them under a seal. However, we have no fear of giving them insertion in "The Republican," and shall take an opportunity of doing it, and accompany it with a few remarks, shewing how an erroneous impression may be received from them and how it should be avoided.

Mr. Hunt's fresh and further abuse shall be taken up in a becoming manner. He began the game, and will never silence me even though he is to be aided by all the men in his employ. I will shew him the superiority of moral strength over mere abuse and rotten principles. I wait to see his man Wilde's, or wild man's Letter, in his "Memoirs." I shall stick to the Saint, and not notice the Knight Errant of the "Order of St. Henry of Ilchester!!!"

R. CARLILE.

The receipt of £1, as a second subscription, from a Friend at Richmond, Yorkshire, is acknowledged, with 5s. from another Friend in that town.

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